1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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177 more manifest appearances. For this reason they particularly
178 oppose mixed dancing. As the songs above make plain, "pleas-
181 ure" is felt to be a detriment to study, hard work, mobility,
668 and the "progress" of tribals. Almost all Santal industrial workers condemn "too much pleasure," and even in remote villages it is generally felt that "pleasure" needs to be curtailed. However, it is only the educated, and not by any means all of them, who have deeply internalized this attitude and who can make it work for them. At a "fair" (*pata* in Hindi and Santali) more than half the Santal present said that fairs are bad; "at these fairs we only run around like dogs and spend our money"; but they were participating nevertheless and having considerable "pleasure."

[871] It is a fact that many Santal fail in school because they are lured away from their studies by the traditional "pleasure"
[461] activities. Similarly, there are some absences without leave from TISCO and some instances of coming to work drunk which are the result of too much "pleasure," particularly during festivals. Through songs, plays, speeches, and even prayers, the new cultural movement has succeeded in making most Santal feel that they ought not to over-indulge; but it would be too much to say that it has succeeded in changing the dominant motif of Santal culture. However, the commitment to personal and tribal mobility and the inhibition of "pleasure" are continually reinforced by the obvious increase in the possibilities of advancement.

[861] It is not yet common in the villages but everywhere apparent in the *bustees* and in Jamshedpur that fathers scold their children for wasting time and remind them that if they do not study they shall end up "throwing about dung" or performing other menial jobs requiring hard and undignified labor. Most

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

593 578 angrily to him, she will meet him with abuse: Pour out yourself and gulp it down, did she not give you any? He may be thirsty. She will abuse and scold him, until she makes him angry. Now men cannot take it up with women as regards the mouth; therefore he becomes furious and thrashes her, so that she lies there done for. The woman will howl and abuse him foully: That woman you have, stab your woman! Bring her, let her cook, gnash it both of you, heaps of it; your stomach, is it not expanding? You blind fool, you staring wretch, die like a beast; did you not see me then? Your burst eyes! Were they in your neck? I will not stay here; do you imagine you are the only man existing? And the children howl uproariously; they run out and cry: Come here, Father, [627] come here, Father, he is killing our mother. The village people then come and warn the two; and if such happens often, they fine them after having found out what the fault is. Some women are very lazy and squander everything. Some men also are very bad-tempered; without any reason they beat their wives; they find fault with the food and the work, when it is good; all day long they scowl at their wives, and they speak only roughly and harshly to them. And some men squander everything by beer-drinking. When the man or the [586] woman, or both of them, continue bad in this way they separate, that is to say, some people do; but some people will not separate, because they feel pity for the children. Such people live in great trouble.

h. The sorrows and joys of father, mother, and children.

593 • 861 Parents will not beat their children wantonly, if they do not become angry; and they will rather themselves not take food, but, if there is any food, they will give it to the children. In the presence of the mother the father is unable to beat the children; their mother will protect them. And there is very little done in the way of punishing children; therefore they live as they like. If they do not obey when they have been ordered to do something once or twice, the parents will leave them alone and be done with it. And if they are beaten or the like, the children will run away sulky to relatives. These will not upbraid them and send them home; they let them stay; thereby the children get courage. The parents are forced to go to fetch them, and only by coaxing them are they able to bring them home. Also when grown up, the children will commit faults without fear, because they themselves are not punished; the parents are punished. The Santals have much trouble with their children, because the children are not kept in discipline. So long as they are small or live in the houses of their parents, children will not get what they deserve for their bad behaviour; but in their time they will get full retribution for not having respected their parents. Sometimes when they have become utterly worried, the parents will say to their misbehaving children: You young fellow, or you young girl, when we both are no more, you will not get enough water even to clean yourself, and you will be carried away like a whirlwind.